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of the sugar industry during this period, these bandits found even richer spoils to loot in the haciendas and centrals. Some of these uprisings, however, were of a messianic or nativistic nature with supernatural sanctions and sometimes a racial aspect directed against the Chinese. In 1878 the Guardia Civil was first established in Negros; in the same year a detachment was sent to Siaton.[91] The arrival in Siaton of the Guardia Civil, which in those days was moved from one region to another as "shock troops," is an indication that military force was needed to suppress growing lawlessness. Conditions in Siaton so deteriorated within a ten-year period that in December, 1887, the Governor-General of the Philippines, Valeriano Weyler, anchored a battleship with 500 soldiers off Siaton.[92]

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In 1887 the southern part of Negros was disturbed by the activities of Ponciano Elofre, also known by his nicknames "King Kanoy" or "Buhawi" (Waterspout) who had thousands of followers.[93] Elofre was a cabeza of Barrio

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91 Marco, op. cit., p. 110. It is the Cadiane manuscript that states that a Guardia Civil detachment came to Siaton.

92 In 1888 Weyler fought the Moros of Lanao to end a conflict that had begun in 1887. David P. Barrows, History of the Philippines. Rev. ed. New York, World Book Company, 1926, p. 548.

93 This account is a reconstruction of material obtained from the Cadiane manuscripts and interviews with the daughter-in-law of one of Elofre's adopted sons (actually his nephew), Santiago Tayko, a former capitan of Zamboanguita who knew Elofre, and several other informants. Elofre is not mentioned by name in either Schaum' Apunte or Marco's Reseña.

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Nahandig (some say Kaladias) located in the interior part of the present municipality of Zamboanguita. He was married but never had any children except those he adopted. Klofre is remembered as a man of means since "one could not become a cabeza unless he owned some property then." He was said to be good-natured, generous, and a devout Catholic. His almost fanatic devotion to his religion led him to organize Saturday prayer meetings in his barrio; these began to attract many people. After the religious services there was dancing, singing and often a cockfight. Later the people, through cooperative labor, built a small chapel in Klofre's barrio.

As more people were attracted to these services, particularly from Zamboanguita poblacion, local Spanish officials grew suspicious of Klofre's motives. Klofre allegedly urged his followers not to pay their taxes, although others state he did not encourage the people to revolt against Spanish authority. His prayer meetings were attended by devout Catholics, many of whom believed he possessed unusual powers. It is also said that Klofre was unable to pay the taxes required of him as a cabeza and from this inability his troubles with the Spaniards began. The Spanish authorities, however, appeared to believe he was inciting the barriofolk to revolt against the government. Their suspicions of Klofre grew as the crowds at his barrio services increased. Throughout the Philippines at this time political conditions were such as to stimulate the Spanish authorities to suspect any large Filipino gathering.

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Klofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Klofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Klofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Klofre, his father was killed. Klofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Klofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

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[94] Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Klofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Klofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Klofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Klofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Klofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95] The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed), when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Klofre's magical powers. While at a house with Klofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Klofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Klofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Klofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

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moved to Sitio Dagangdang north of Olambid. Gradually the legends of Klofre's supernatural powers spread throughout the southern part of Negros. Ruiz writes that he claimed to be a "Living God" while other informants say Klofre was invulnerable to bullets. His magical powers were believed to reside in a mole on the back of his neck. He was able to make it rain at will. One day, in the presence of nearly 1,000 followers, Klofre climbed a coconut tree and prayed for rain, which soon fell in torrents. The Guardia Civil, then searching for Klofre and his group, had to abandon their hunt because of the heavy rain. It was from this incident that Klofre received his nickname, Buhawi, "Waterspout."

Klofre predicted that the world would be destroyed by a great flood, although no specific date was set for the catastrophe. After the flood the world would be plunged into utter darkness and those who did not follow Klofre would perish in rivers of boiling water and fire. Klofre wore a uniform of black pants with vivid red stripes down the seams and a black coat with orange stripes on the breast. However, he wore only this gaudy uniform when the Guardia Civil were chasing him "because he did not wish to frighten his followers."

> With this prophecy [that he was a Living God] he succeeded in attracting people from various towns on the coast who blindly followed him...He had his own police who went to the nearby towns to collect candles and tribute from the people. Persons who could not pay these were taken before the Living God who punished them at will for failing to follow orders.[96]

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[96]Ruiz, op. cit., p. 140.

20: Hart E-5 (1954) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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Gadiane writes that thousands of people from the coastal poblacions and barrios flocked to Klofre's mountain lair.

> There were very few people left in the poblacions of Negros Oriental. Young and old, father and son, going with him anyplace. It was said that the people were fearful of him if they failed to obey what he said. They were told to bring to Klofre a candle, five centavos, a chicken and egg which were signs of homage to him. There were about 15,000 people in the mountains who were followers of Buhawi, even some Loog.[97]

Various stories are told of Klofre's mountain residences that he constantly changed due to Guardia Civil patrols. He was said to always be surrounded by his soldiers while beautiful women and handsome young men alternately danced and sang the Estihado (a dance in which the participants compose their songs extemporaneously) to entertain him. Klofre's "palace" was so bright it seemed as if it were illuminated with electricity. When he lived in Barrio Nahandig he would wave his silk handkerchief at the side of a near-by cliff that miraculously opened, exposing inside a richly decorated room. When new followers came with offerings, Gadiane reports Klofre told them:

> You must believe and have faith in me. I am the owner of your salvation. For those who are with me, and those who died from the beginning to now, are witness of my calling to you. So you just clap your hands and nothing will happen to you.

The clapping of hands appears to have been both a ritual and a magical protection against harm for Klofre's followers.

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[97] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148: "From each new convert he collected tribute for his personal expenses, plus a candle." Gadiane's estimate of 15,000 followers is probably an exaggeration, although there is no way the actual numbers can be determined.

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So many people from Siaton began to visit or became followers of Elofre that in 1888 the parish priest, Julian Adan, told Andres Ragay, the local judge, to go to his mountain camp to investigate.[98] Ragay visited Elofre's group and is said to found all reports about him correct. He discovered a former clerk of the Siaton cabeza, Pio Kiti, recording names of Elofre's new followers who came from Tolong, Maloconan, Giliga-on, Siaton, Bonbonon, Zamboanguita, Dauin, Bacong, Valencia, Dumaguete, Sibulan, Tanjay and other coastal settlements of Negros Oriental. Elofre did not attract many followers from western Negros, probably due to the poor transportation facilities.

After Ragay's report to the priest and local officials, a plan was formed to capture Elofre. It was agreed that the Guardia Civil patrols of Tolong, Bais, Guihulngan, Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, and Siaton were to march from their respective poblacions and secretly meet near Elofre's camp. The patrols met as planned. When the attack began Elofre cried: "Make your belief in me strong for we are being attacked by the Devil." Elofre and most of his followers escaped, although one soldier and four of Elofre's followers were killed and sixty men, women, and children arrested. After this encounter Elofre and

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[98]Adan is said to be the first person to bring goats and sheep to Siaton poblacion. Goats were a pre-Hispanic animal in the Philippines while sheep were brought to the archipelago by the Spaniards.

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his followers seem to have been inactive for a short period. Some said that angels had taken Elofre to heaven but that he would return. Peace and order so improved that the soldiers stationed in Siaton under Lt. Col. Villabrille who had arrived with Weyler returned to Manila.[99]

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In the middle of the year (1888) Elofre's followers became active again, stealing cattle or carabaos from the lowlanders, "Sometimes cutting off only the two hind legs or just taking the tongue." The barriofolk began again to go to the mountains to join Elofre. "This was in July, 1888, because the corn was already in tassels," Cadiane writes. Conditions became so unsettled that it was dangerous to leave the centers of population. Guardia Civil patrols combed the mountains, and often shot any suspicious character on sight. There were a few days, during this period, Cadiane reports, that bodies did not arrive from the mountains in Siaton poblacion due to the Guardia Civil patrols. "Sometimes they would only bring back a string of ears, one ear for each man shot. These strings of ears were often nearly three feet long." Cadiane describes Siaton poblacion at this time.

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[99] Cadiane manuscript's conflicts with the account given by Ruiz who states Villabrille did not go to Manila when his group left Negros; he was sent to Antique province, Panay, where another "God" had made his appearance. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150.

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The condition of the poblacion was like that of a cave because when the sun set nobody would walk the streets. When one talked it would be in a whisper because there might be soldiers or followers of Buhawi listening under the house. If you talked against the soldiers, they would take you to their headquarters. If you said anything against Buhawi, his men might hear you and take you to face him in the mountains. There was continual stealing in the near-by area and continual shooting in the mountains. You would hear the rattle of the guns and of the machitas [heavy cutting knives carried by the Guardia Civil]. You would hear the sorrowful howling of the dogs.[100]

The disorder and violence in this locality continued until 1889. One day Manuel Ege, the son of Capitan Lucas Ege (who had been re-elected capitan for the fourth time in 1889), was captured by Elofre's followers. Ege, however, managed to escape and reported their presence in the mountains. Fortunately, forty Guardia Civil soldiers from Tolong were stationed in Siaton, under the command of Lt. Dominick (Ruiz, Domenech).[101] The following morning as the people attended mass news arrived that Elofre's

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[100] Valentin seems to have had his personal following, although subject to the command of Elofre. In the latter part of 1888, after the attack on Elofre's group, Valentin and some of his followers held a meeting in the house of Alegio Ragpa, Barrio Datag. The people danced, shouted, sang, and clapped their hands for Valentin said: "Clap your hands and we shall never be in danger." News of this meeting reached the poblacion. A messenger was sent to Valentin, telling him the people did not mind his gathering but the Guardia Civil said it was illegal and for them to disband immediately. Valentin refused. As a result several Guardia Civil soldiers and local policemen returned to Datag and attacked the group. Valentin was reported to have wiped off the bullets that hit him "like fireflies that were lighting on his chest." Finally Valentin said, "Because you cannot get us, we will be the ones to get you" and the soldiers and policemen fled in fear, leaving behind a companion thought to be dead but who was merely badly wounded. This man returned to the poblacion and another patrol was sent after Valentin but he had left Datag.

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[101] Ruiz gives a slightly different version. A rainy and dark night in August, 1887 Elofre decided to attack the poblacion. The Guardia Civil, stationed in Siaton, decided to hunt him out but just then Lt. Domenech arrived and advised that the attack should be postponed until the next morning. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

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group was meeting in the house of Bernabe Cajonera in Barrio Sandolot (Ruiz states Sitio Nabais, Sandolot) in preparation for an attack on the poblacion.

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More than 100 soldiers and local policemen marched to Sandolot to surprise Klofre's followers. As the soldiers moved through the fields of ripe corn surrounding Klofre's meeting place they could hear the people singing and clapping their hands. The men were filled with "sadness and fear for they were going to meet Klofre who was even more powerful than Valentin who had just wiped off the bullets shot from their guns." This surprise attack resulted in the death of Klofre. Cadiane writes:

> As the Guardia Civil were firing their guns they saw someone who was quite big and stout, dressed in black clothing with red and white stripes, going up the hillside. In his right hand he was holding a pinoti [a bolo-like knife]. The Guardia Civil believed this man was Buhawi so they concentrated their fire on him. Buhawi did not run or even walk fast. He was just walking in a natural pace up the steep slope of the hill. After firing for awhile the soldiers no longer were able to see Buhawi. They went up the hill after him. When they reached the top of the hill they saw at the opposite bank of the river, in a small clearing, a man kneeling on one knee, holding a pinoti. They fired at him many times but he did not fall. They did not know Buhawi was already dead. So the Guardia Civil went near and one man pushed the body. They then saw blood was coming out of his mouth and that a bullet had passed through his rectum into his head.

Thus died the King called Kanoy.

His body was carried to Siaton poblacion where it was bathed in coconut oil, dressed, the hair neatly combed, and placed in a chair in front of the casareal. Criers were sent throughout the poblacion and near-by barrios telling the people to come to see the former

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superman. The corpse was later sent to Zamboanguita under heavy guard because the rumor was that Elofre's followers were going to try to highjack their dead leader. In Zamboanguita Elofre's relatives were called to identify the body.

The legends concerning Buhawi continued to multiply after his death. It was said that it took five days to carry the body from Siaton to Zamboanguita yet it did not decompose. A friend donated a blanket, mat, and pillow for Elofre's burial. Several evenings after the funeral this friend heard a voice in the darkness say: "Pari, here are your things." Going outside his house he found his blanket, mat, and pillow used to bury Elofre. Elofre had been resurrected. There are some old people who today believe that Elofre was never shot, that he is still alive and may return. For the most part, however, the life and legend of Buhawi are being forgotten rapidly; he is not part of the folklore of the younger people, many of whom have never heard of the former King Manoy.

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The death of Elofre did not end all the disturbances in southern Negros. In 1890 Elofre's brother-in-law, Valentin, and the latter's brother, Higino (Ruiz: Higinio known as "God Talisic"), held a meeting near Magdalamas, a mountain in the vicinity of Sitio Kaladyas, Barrio Bonawon. A large number of armed men and women attended the meeting. New threats to Siaton's peace were feared, so a Guardia Civil patrol was sent to capture the group. They fought Valentin's followers, who were trapped in

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and ashes filled the air. Large waves were formed at sea but when they reached the shore they were small and did no damage.

Fearing a tidal wave, the people streamed to the hills where they sang hymns and prayed for deliverance. In one locality twenty-five persons were buried alive by a landslide and the Siaton church and convento were badly damaged. One of the tributaries of the Siaton River near Balanan was blocked by earth slides and Lake Linao was created. The Mantuyop River was temporarily dammed by a slide and its bed near Naga remained dry for several hours. This earthquake also closed some of the hillside springs in Barrio Caticugan.

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A new messianic prophet appeared in Panay during this period. Florencio Intrencherado claimed to be in communication with a spiritual guide and threatened the people with flood, earthquake and fire unless they overthrew the American government and made him their emperor. The eruption of Canlaon volcano, the 1925 Negros earthquake and the earthquake disaster in Japan gave Intrencherado tremendous prestige in both Panay and Negros. In 1926 his followers were said to number more than twenty-six thousand. In May, of the same year, some three hundred adherents of Intrencherado attacked the municipio at Victorias. They were defeated by the local police. Intrencherado was arrested in Jaro (Iloilo province), declared insane, and later confined in a Manila hospital.